

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

How fascist dictatorship in Portugal fell in 1974

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U.S. gov't faces uphill battle in drive against Social Security

BY PAUL PEDERSON

In an April 28 prime-time televised news conference, U.S. president George Bush continued to push uphill in the campaign the ruling class is leading to undermine Social Security as a federally guaranteed pension for all.

In addition to reiterating his earlier proposal to create individually-managed retirement accounts that would cut the benefits the government is obligated to pay, Bush added that he favored determining the size of an individual's retirement pension based on government income tests. The last proposal would open the door to undermining the universal character of cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security pensions, which are now increased every year to make up for inflation.

Bush demagogically presented both proposals as aimed at helping the working class.

"I propose a Social Security system in the future where benefits for low-income workers will grow faster than benefits for people who are better off," Bush said during the press conference. "The whole goal



Protesters picket April 18 speech by U.S. president George Bush in Columbia, South Carolina, where he appeared as part of nationwide tour pushing Social Security "reform."

would be to see to it that nobody retired in poverty," he claimed.

"I like the idea of giving someone ownership. I mean, why should ownership be confined only to rich people?" Bush said, plugging the proposal on putting benefits in private accounts. "Why should people not be allowed to own and manage their own assets who aren't the, you know, the so-called investor class?... We're saying,

you ought to have the right to set up a personal saving account so you can earn a better rate of return on your own money than the government can."

Bush presented these reforms as steps needed to "save" Social Security. These changes, however, are aimed at undermining the character of Social Security as a right for all—one that, however inadequate, Continued on Page 10

Socialist Workers launch election campaigns in San Francisco and Craig, Colorado

Begin petitioning to put candidates on ballot in New Jersey, Boston

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The Socialist Workers Party has nominated candidates for upcoming local elections in the San Francisco Bay Area and Craig, Colorado. They join another 20 SWP can-

didates who launched their campaigns in a dozen other cities earlier this spring.

A party conference in the Bay Area the last week of April named Dennis Richter, a meat packer and member of the SWP Na-

tional Committee, as the Socialist Workers candidate for Treasurer of the city and county of San Francisco.

The first week of May, Deborah Liatos, a coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in the Craig, Colorado, area, was named SWP candidate for Board of Education in Moffat County.

Meanwhile, SWP campaign supporters have launched petitioning efforts to put Socialist Workers candidates on the ballot in New Jersey and Boston.

"Socialist campaigners in New Jersey have been getting a good response while soapboxing and reaching out with the party's platform—which presents a working-class alternative to the Democrats, Republicans, and all capitalist parties—through street tables, on campuses, and in workers districts," said Ved Dookhun, SWP campaign director in that state. "The petitioning effort to collect 1,600 signatures to put Angela Lariscy on the ballot and another 200 for Michael Ortega—double the state requirements—begins on Saturday, May 7." Lariscy is the party's candidate for New Jersey governor and Ortega the SWP candidate for State Assembly in the 28th District.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign plan to finish the ballot drive in New Jersey in one week. "We will celebrate the successful completion of the petitioning drive at a campaign forum on Friday, May 13," said Dookhun.

In Boston, petitioners plan to collect 1,000 signatures to put on the ballot Laura Garza, Socialist Workers candidate for city council at-large. Backers of the campaign of Garza, who is running along with Margaret Trowe, the party's candidate for mayor of Boston, plan to collect the targeted number of signatures, again double the city's requirement, by May 22.

At the same time, SWP candidates in Continued on Page 11

New Jersey union backs Utah miners organizing fight

BY GUILLERMO ESQUIVEL

PRICE, Utah—"Dear PACE Local 8-0587, thank you so much for your contribution to the Co-Op Miners Fund. This is still an ongoing struggle. Many of the miners are finding temporary jobs to help sustain themselves and their families."

This is what a thank you letter from Ann and Bob Fivecoat, the caretakers of the miners' solidarity fund, said to this PACE union local in Rahway, New Jersey, in response to a contribution to the union-organizing struggle of coal miners at the Co-Op Mine near Huntington, Utah, operated by C.W. Mining. "The miners are standing firm and determined to fight the fight!" the Fivecoats added. In the last two weeks of April miners reported receiving checks totaling \$1,000 from union locals and individuals in Utah and other states.

"Enclosed please find our check for \$200 in which our membership voted to help in your fight for jobs and rights," said the letter from PACE Local 2-575 in Rahway.

Two other PACE locals have contributed to the miners' fund—one from Taft, California, and another from Woods Cross, Utah—for a total of \$740. A United Food and Commercial Workers local from Landover, Maryland, also sent in a check for \$100. Other individuals from Draper, Utah, and Pepper Pike, Ohio, also mailed

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U.S. gov't to sell 'bunker buster' bombs to Israel in move aimed against Iran

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—U.S. officials announced plans April 26 to sell 100 "bunker buster" bombs to the Israeli regime. This would be the first sale of the weapon to another government. The announcement was part of Washington's campaign of pressure against Tehran, aimed at forcing Iran's government to abandon its program to enrich uranium.

Tehran insists it has a right to enrich uranium as part of its development of a nuclear industry needed to meet the country's energy needs. Washington says it can't trust the Iranian government and claims Tehran will use the uranium to produce nuclear weapons.

During an interview in January on the MSNBC program "Imus In the Morning," U.S. vice president Richard Cheney speculated that Tel Aviv "might well decide to act

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Imperialist powers warm up to new regime in Ecuador

Gutiérrez was ousted by layers of bourgeoisie backed by middle-class protests

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The new president of Ecuador, Alfredo Palacio, said Quito would honor all existing treaties, including one that allows U.S. military operations at one of the country’s key air bases. He also said that Ecuador would continue to pay the interest on the country’s \$16.6 billion debt to international banks, while at the same time promising to increase spending on health care, education, and other social needs.

While no Latin American government has recognized the new Ecuadorian presidency, Washington and the European Union (EU) each have said that their relations with Ecuador will continue as usual. The Organization of American States (OAS) also struck a conciliatory note, saying that it wishes to help strengthen democracy in Ecuador.

Palacio was installed April 20 by opposition members of Ecuador’s Congress who had organized street protests in the capital, largely comprised of middle class professionals, that forced President Lucio Gutiérrez to flee into exile in Brazil. Palacio was vice president in Gutiérrez’s government.

Gutiérrez had been among “leftist” bourgeois figures elected recently in Latin America. Support for his government among peasants and the country’s large Indian indigenous population fell sharply as Gutiérrez continued austere economic policies prescribed by Wall Street and other imperialist investors. Sensing Gutiérrez’s isolation, opposition leaders in Ecuador’s Congress, who are to the right of Gutiérrez’s government, were able to remove him by mobilizing relatively small protests dominated by Quito’s middle class.

Gutiérrez’s opponents focused on his political maneuvers, charging the government with corruption. Protests against his government increased starting in December when allies in Congress removed 27 of the 31 Supreme Court justices and packed the court with their own candidates. The new court then cleared several politicians in exile of corruption charges, including ex-president Abdalá Bucaram.

“Ecuador will be a nation that respects its commitments without restriction,” Palacio said. “This includes the Manta base. If the Manta base has been conceived as a front against drug trafficking, Ecuador will con-

tinue in that struggle.” In 1999, Ecuador’s government signed an agreement allowing the U.S. military use of the Manta Air Base. Gutiérrez, who criticized the agreement in 2000, nevertheless continued it after being elected in 2002. As part of its “war on terrorism” Washington has strengthened its military presence throughout Latin America.

Following a meeting with Palacio, U.S. ambassador to Ecuador Kristie Kenney said, “We never broke relations and we continue to work with the government.” Just prior to a meeting of EU foreign ministers, EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana said, “Until everything is clarified, what we are doing is to recognize the country.”

After three days of meetings with officials in Palacio’s government and opposition groups, members of an OAS special mission said the body would back Ecuador’s efforts to “strengthen democracy,” and brushed aside questions on whether they considered the new government to be constitutional.

The new regime has already shown signs of instability, as Palacio attempts to cobble together a coalition that includes left critics of Gutiérrez’s austerity policies and opponents to the right of the Gutiérrez government. In his first public appearance, new finance minister Rafael Correa said the decision of President Jamil Mahuad in 2000 to adopt the U.S. dollar instead of the sucre as the country’s currency was the “greatest economic error.” At an exchange rate of 25,000 sucres to one dollar, the measure virtually wiped out meager savings and earnings of millions of Ecuadorians. Correa added, however, that the policy should not be reversed.

Mahuad was driven from office in 2000 when thousands of protesters occupied the parliament. The protests were led by the country’s largest indigenous organization CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador). A short-lived provisional governing triumvirate resulted from the revolt. It consisted of the president of CONAIE; Gutiérrez, then an army colonel; and a former supreme court president. The group ceded power to the military, which then handed the government to Mahuad’s vice president, Gustavo Noboa.

Correa also said that a stabilization fund derived from oil revenues, 70 percent of

which is earmarked for debt payments, should be abolished. Palacio said the fund will be restructured to increase social spending.

The new commerce minister, Oswaldo Molestina, implied that Ecuador might abandon negotiations for a multiregional trade pact with the United States, Peru, and Colombia. Correa added that any final deal would have to be put to a referendum. In an effort to allay concerns of foreign investors, Palacio said, “We cannot say whether we will enter into a free trade agreement, but we want to exercise our sovereignty in an open conversation.”

Gutiérrez was elected in 2002 largely on the strength of his association with the popular revolt that had toppled Mahuad two years earlier. Couching his speeches in populist demagoguery, Gutiérrez carried out similar policies to those of his predecessors, earning him a reputation among Wall Street bankers as “fiscally responsible.”

Calling himself “the president of the needy,” Gutiérrez insisted as he fled the country that “in Quito and Guayaquil you can hear voices calling for my return, in the Amazon, along the Pacific Coast, and in the poor neighborhoods there are millions of people who support me.” This has proved



AFP/Getty Images/Rodrigo Buendia

Pot-banging middle-class forces dominated April 20 protest in Quito, Ecuador (above). Such demonstrations were instrumental in ousting President Lucio Gutiérrez.

not to be the case. Gutiérrez’s ouster has met with little opposition. The vast majority of workers, peasants, and indigenous peoples in Ecuador who just four years earlier led mass struggles that toppled the government, did not mobilize to defend him.

“In the beginning he talked about the poor, but then he went to the side of the rich,” said Marta Tigusi, an indigenous street vendor who sells crafts at an artisan market in Quito. “Then we lost trust in him.”

New Iraqi cabinet is sworn in

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The new Iraqi government was sworn in May 3 but several cabinet positions reserved for Sunni politicians remained unfilled. The difficulty the government is having in wooing Sunnis to participate in the new cabinet illustrates the instability of the new regime three months after the January elections for a National Assembly. Part of the dispute is the demand of Sunni politicians that they be given the De-

fense Department post, which is opposed by the dominant United Iraqi Alliance (UIA).

At the urging of organizations dominated by wealthy Sunnis that had ties to the former Baath Party regime of Saddam Hussein, most Sunnis boycotted the elections. The Association of Muslim Scholars, the main organization of Sunni clerics in Iraq, has criticized the small number of posts set aside for Sunnis in the government and has demanded a timetable for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq.

During an unannounced visit to Iraq, U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld warned against proposals by UIA leaders to purge the security forces of individuals held over from the former Baathist regime.

The UIA won a slight majority of seats in the National Assembly but not enough to form the government on its own. Negotiations over cobbling together a coalition cabinet were marked first by demands of Kurds for broader autonomy in northern Iraq and now by rivalries over posts between the Shiite majority and Sunni minority.

At the heart of the dispute over the defense ministry are differences over how to deal with the armed supporters of the Hussein regime, who have been carrying out bombing attacks on U.S. troops and Iraqi government forces. Wealthy Sunnis are the financial backbone of such groups.

The UIA has rejected several candidates for the defense post proposed by a Sunni negotiating committee headed by Ghazi Yawar, who is also vice president in the new government. Yawar boycotted the swearing-in ceremony in protest. The Yawar-led group also wants to halt the removal of former Baath Party members from government jobs, a return of Sunni officers to the army, and stepped-up efforts to rebuild Falluja.

Iraq’s president, Jalal Talabani, had called for an amnesty and talks with some “insurgent” groups. “I don’t think the insurgency can be beaten by negotiations,” responded top UIA official Hussain Shahrstani.

Rumsfeld weighed in on the dispute warning the new regime not to “come in and clean house” in the armed forces.

The regime’s new interior minister, Bayan Jabr, is also a leader of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq. The group’s main leaders lived in exile in Iran during Hussein’s reign. According to New York *Newsday*, the Bush administration tried to bloc Jabr’s appointment.

Washington presses Tehran to drop nuclear plans

Continued from front page

first” to destroy Iran’s nuclear research and development facilities.

Senior officials in the Bush administration said they will make their allegations against Tehran for violation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) the focus of a monthlong UN-sponsored conference in May to review the treaty. The NPT subjects governments in semicolonial countries, in particular, to a range of requirements, including regular reports and inspections of their nuclear research and energy facilities. The treaty, and the United Nations International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that was created to enforce it, have been increasingly used by Washington and its imperialist allies in the last decade to prevent semicolonial nations from developing nuclear energy.

“Today, the treaty is facing the most serious challenge in its history due to instances of noncompliance,” said Stephen Rademaker, Washington’s representative at the conference during its opening on May 3. Rademaker singled out Iran and north Korea as the top states that the U.S. government claims are violating the NPT. He said Washington demands that any solution regarding Iran “must include permanent cessation of Iran’s enrichment and reprocessing efforts, as well as dismantlement of equipment and facilities related to such activity.”

Washington has been pressing since 2003, when Iran revealed a two-decades-long program to develop nuclear energy, to bring the Iranian government before the UN Security Council where Tehran could face a variety of sanctions.

The GBU-28, a 5,000-pound bomb,

was developed in the 1991 U.S.-led war against Iraq. It is capable of penetrating hardened underground bunkers. In an effort to protect its nuclear installations, Tehran has spread its nuclear facilities out across the country. Washington claims that many of the installations are located in deep underground bunkers.

The Israeli government has repeatedly said it has no plans to attack Iranian nuclear facilities. Tel Aviv, however, does have a record of taking such actions. In 1981, Israeli bombers attacked the Osirak nuclear power plant in Iraq, just south of Baghdad, and destroyed its French-built reactors as the plant neared completion.

David Siegel, a spokesman for the Israeli embassy in Washington, said the GBU-28 was “one component in a basket of measures Israel is acquiring,” reported the *Financial Times*.

Last September the Israeli newspaper *Ha’aretz* said the Israeli military could receive up to 5,000 of a variety of heavy bombs—among them 500 one-ton bunker busters, 2,500 regular one-ton bombs, 1,000 half-ton bombs, and 500 quarter-ton bombs. The Israeli Defense Force has used bombs of this type in assassinations of leaders of the Palestinian group Hamas.

Along with arming Tel Aviv to strengthen its capability for possible military strikes against Iran, Washington is using the NPT conference to pursue its “nonproliferation” campaign. The treaty provides cover for the imperialist powers in Washington, London, and Paris—as well as Moscow and Beijing—to maintain and develop nuclear weapons, but bars other nations from acquiring them. Rademaker said Washington will “pro-

‘Militant,’ SWP brief backs motion to dismiss harassment lawsuit

BY NORTON SANDLER

“Plaintiffs bring this lawsuit not redress any actionable legal harm, but to squelch ongoing media coverage of the highly publicized labor dispute between the Co-Op Mine and its workers, divert public attention from the Co-Op Mine’s alleged unfair and unsafe labor practices, and silence the many critics of the Co-op Mine.

“This sweeping lawsuit, in which some twenty-seven plaintiffs have asserted claims of defamation against more than ninety different defendants, based on hundreds of articles and statements published by numerous news outlets and others organizations, including *The Salt Lake Tribune* (“*The Tribune*”), the *Deseret Morning News* (“*Morning News*”) and *The Militant*, poses a dangerous and significant risk of chilling the media’s constitutionally-protected coverage of this important public controversy.”

This is how the Memorandum in Support of Motion to Dismiss a lawsuit against the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party by C.W. Mining and the International Association of United Workers Union (IAUWU) opens.

Salt Lake City attorneys Randy Dryer and Michael Petrogeorge are representing the *Militant* and the SWP in this lawsuit. They filed the latest brief on behalf of these defendants.

“Plaintiffs should not be allowed to use litigation and the threat of protracted discovery, to chill First Amendment rights in this way, and their claims of defamation should therefore be dismissed, with prejudice,” continues the memorandum, which was filed April 28 in Federal District Court in Salt Lake City, Utah.

“The time and expense associated with protracted litigation is a particular concern for small, independent, weekly newspapers with limited financial resources like *The Militant* (which, as stated on its masthead for decades, is ‘A socialist newsweekly published in the interests of working people’),” says a footnote in the brief. “The potential for frivolous defamation suits to chill First Amendment rights is even greater for these media outlets.”

C.W. Mining and the IAUWU originally filed their lawsuit in September 2004. Individual directors of C.W. Mining and officers of the company-run union are also plaintiffs in the case. The suit was amended and re-

submitted to the court on Dec. 9, 2004. The only charge in the brief against the SWP is that it “owns and controls” the *Militant*. The brief submitted by the *Militant* and SWP explains this charge is false. The *Militant* itself is charged with defamation. C.W. Mining says in papers it filed with the court it expects to use discovery to further “prove” its allegations against the *Militant*. Discovery is often used in civil suits to demand private information from those being sued in order to drain time and resources from opponents.

Also targeted as defendants in this lawsuit are 16 workers who have been involved in the now 19-month-long battle to be represented by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and to be reinstated to their jobs at the Co-op Mine; the UMWA and that union’s international officers; other unions and labor organizations—including the Utah AFL-CIO and its president Ed Mayne—and both of Utah’s main dailies, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Deseret Morning News*. All the defendants have filed motions to dismiss the case. The company and the IAUWU subsequently filed court papers opposing those motions to dismiss.

The company fired nearly every supporter of the UMWA on the eve of a union certification election at the mine last December. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) upheld the UMWA’s claim that relatives of the mine bosses and company sharehold-



Militant/Luis Astorga

Co-Op miners and supporters picket April 13 at C.W. Mining’s Rail Co. Load Out near Price, Utah. Company has charged *Militant*, others with defamation for reporting facts on union-organizing struggle and extending support to the workers.

ers should be ruled ineligible to vote in that election. Among those deemed ineligible to vote were officers of the IAUWU, which the workers involved in this struggle have described since the beginning as a company union. An NLRB ruling is pending on the votes of the fired workers and the result of the election.

The memorandum in support of the motion to dismiss submitted by Dryer and Petrogeorge cites five reasons why the judge should throw out C.W. Mining’s defamation claims: “(i) *The Militant*’s publications are protected by Utah’s public interest privilege; (ii) *The Militant*’s publications when taken in context (as required), do not convey any defamatory meaning; (iii) *The Militant*’s

publications constitute, in large part, constitutionally protected statements of opinion; (iv) many of *The Militant*’s publications are fair and true reports of the official proceedings of the NLRB; and/or (v) with few exceptions, the *Militant*’s statements are not ‘of and concerning’ individual plaintiffs.”

The brief incorporates many of the arguments on these points made by the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret Morning News* in their memorandum supporting their motions to dismiss the case.

A public, not a private, controversy

Mark Hansen and Carl Kingston, representing the company and the IAUWU,

Continued on Page 11

Chicago forum promotes Militant Fighting Fund

BY JOHN HAWKINS

CHICAGO—Nearly 80 people took part in a special Militant Labor Forum here April 30 entitled “Defend free speech and freedom of the press: Defend *The Militant* newspaper and Socialist Workers Party against Utah coal mine bosses’ lawsuit.”

The event took place in conjunction with a national meeting of socialist workers active in the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW).

Maurice Williams, a meat packer in Chicago, opened the forum by reading a message by Keith Griep, a member of UFCW Local 538 and a former striker against Tyson Foods in Jefferson, Wisconsin.

In response to company demands to cut

wages and benefits, members of UFCW Local 538 carried out an 11-month strike against Tyson Foods. During the walkout the workers led a number of solidarity rallies in Jefferson to reach out for support from other unionists in the area and the country. During the strike the Co-Op miners sent a solidarity message to a December 2003 rally organized by the workers at Tyson.

“The people fighting in Utah and in Jefferson are helping to preserve rights for everyone,” wrote Griep in his message to the meeting. “The owners of the mine and my employers are doing the best they can to get rid of unions.... The *Militant* did a great job getting the word out about our fight across the country. And I hope it continues to do so. I’ll pass the word out around here about your fight.”

“The C.W. Mining lawsuit grows out of the most important labor battle taking place in the U.S. today,” said John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is one of the sponsors of the Militant Fighting Fund. “The fight by the Co-Op miners for real union representation and to win their jobs back serves as an example for other workers trying to take similar steps. It has also helped put unionization of coal mines across the western United States on the agenda today.”

The main goal of C.W. Mining is not solely to win a monetary judgment, Studer said. “Their aim is to use the courts to intimidate the workers involved in the struggle, to scare off anyone who offers them solidarity. They hope to shut people up, disrupt and if possible bring down papers like the *Militant* that report on the side of workers.” Studer placed this battle in continuity with attacks on the vanguard of the working class in this country going back to frame-up trials of leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters in the early 1940s. This prosecution was part of the U.S. government and employers’ attempt to cripple the leadership of the labor resistance in the Midwest and to stifle opposition in the labor movement to Washington’s drive to join World War II.” He also pointed to the example of the SWP’s lawsuit in the 1970s—a more than decade-long battle against illegal government spying and disruption that was victorious.

“We’re asking participants in this meeting to become partisans in this fight,” said Studer. “First by becoming endorsers of the Militant Fighting Fund and to get out the word and win others to this fight, and second by making a generous contribution

to the fund.”

Studer encouraged participants to invite supporters of the Militant Fighting Fund to speak to union meetings, on campus, and to other organizations defending political and democratic rights.

“For me it’s a question of pride that the miners have persisted in the struggle for more than a year,” Amancia Alvarado, an activist at St. Pius Catholic Church in the Pilsen Mexican community in Chicago, told the *Militant*. “Their example is important to workers here in Chicago, especially immigrant workers. The bosses in Utah are trying to prevent the truth from being told and are trying to weaken the miners’ struggle. That’s why they’re attacking the *Militant*—because the *Militant* tells the truth and is part of the struggle, the workers’ voice in the struggle.” Alvarado pledged to organize a meeting in the Pilsen community to get out word about the fight against the mine bosses’ suit and raise funds for the Militant Fighting Fund.

“I see this as part of the broader struggle of working people,” said Joe Kapsner, from Minnesota. “Lawsuits like this are part of the ruling class bag of tricks. They’re trying to deal a blow to the working class with this suit, to slow the fight down and buy some time for their side. That’s why it’s important to defeat their efforts.”

Ball State University professors Jerry and Jeanne Uhlman were present. “This fight is important because of its long-term implications for organizing miners in western coal,” said Jerry Uhlman. “It also has implications nationally and internationally.”

“It’s important to get people to come together in meetings like this to learn about the case and ask questions,” said Jeanne Uhlman.

Dennis Richter, an SWP leader based in San Francisco, gave a brief fund appeal presentation. “It’s fitting that this meeting is taking place on the 30th anniversary of the withdrawal of the last U.S. imperialist troops from Vietnam, marking the victory of the decades-long struggle of the Vietnamese workers and farmers,” he said. “It’s also taking place on the eve of May Day, the international workers holiday.”

Richter described the *Militant*’s role in getting out the truth not only about the miners’ fight but about other labor struggles as well, from organizing drives by meat cutters in the Midwest to the strike by packinghouse workers in Denmark.

More than \$3,500 was contributed at the meeting. This included three contributions of more than \$500.

Free-speech fight endorsed in Utah, N.Y.

BY PAT MILLER

SALT LAKE CITY—Supporters of the Militant Fighting Fund have begun meeting with prominent individuals and groups to win endorsement and financial contributions for the free speech and freedom of the press fight being waged by the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party against a harassment lawsuit by Utah mine bosses (see articles above). Initial endorsers of the fund include union officers, professors, and others in Utah and New York.

At an April 27 meeting of the United Steel Workers Unity Committee, representatives of copper miners and oil refinery workers heard a presentation on the case and discussed its implications for labor. The USW was created recently from the merger of the United Steelworkers of America and PACE unions. Oil workers there said they have backed the Co-Op miners’ union-organizing struggle all along, said Paul Mailhot, who represented the Militant Fighting Fund at the meeting. “Kyle Wulle of USW Local 8-593 recounted how oil workers invited Co-Op miners to recent union conferences to build solidarity for their fight,” Mailhot said. “Wulle, and Julie Holzer and Howard Beck, two other union officers, endorsed the Militant Fighting Fund.”

Susan Vogel, a publisher and former attorney in Salt Lake City, and University of Utah Professor of Education Nancy Winitzky also endorsed the Militant Fighting Fund and suggested approaching others.

“A *Militant* supporter in the Salt Lake area contributed \$1,000,” Mailhot said.

Bob and Ann Fivecoat from East Carbon, Utah, who organize the Co-Op miners soli-

darity fund have also endorsed. “We have been very impressed and grateful for the *Militant*’s total coverage of the plight and the fight of the Co-Op miners,” Ann Fivecoat said in a note she sent along with the endorsement. “We have followed and been involved in this fight from the beginning.”

The Militant Fighting Fund was established with the help of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) to organize the political campaign—and raise the substantial contributions needed—to meet mounting legal and publicity expenses in the case.

Three regional forums to promote the fund were held in Atlanta, Pittsburgh, and Chicago in April. About 170 people attended, contributing \$8,000. Since then, backers of this fight have begun a nationwide effort to promote the Militant Fighting Fund and win new endorsers and contributors.

These efforts are beginning to pay off. Lynne Stewart, for example, endorsed the fight May 2. Stewart is an attorney in New York who was recently convicted on frame-up charges by the U.S. government of “aiding terrorism” because she defended Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who was convicted of conspiring to bomb the World Trade Center in New York in the 1990s. Stewart is waging a defense effort prior to her sentencing in September. Stewart said she would talk about the Militant Fighting Fund in presentations on her case because this is a “fight about free speech and freedom of the press.” Donations (checks made to Militant Fighting Fund) are tax deductible. They can be sent, along with endorsements, to the Militant Fighting Fund, Box 761 Church St. Station, New York, NY 10007.

National ‘Militant’ sales team to head to western coalfields

BY PAUL PEDERSON

At the close of week four, the *Militant* subscription drive stands at 54 percent—just 18 subscriptions behind pace to make the goal. With a special effort everywhere in week five we can close the gap as we head into the home stretch of the sub drive.

Signing up new readers to the socialist weekly has complemented the five-month campaign to sell copies of two new issues of the *New International* (see front-page ad). Sales of these issues of the Marxist magazine have topped 1,400 since March 26. This campaign extends through the August 7-15 World Festival of Youth and Students in Caracas, Venezuela.

Many *NIs* have been sold at a special \$10 discount rate for those who purchase a copy along with an introductory subscription to the *Militant*. Others have taken advantage of the “two-pack”—both new issues for the combined price of \$25. More than half of

the total of all local quotas has been sold just five weeks into the 20-week campaign.

Last week supporters of the *Militant* in the coalfields in Colorado and Utah led the effort, with door-to-door sales in the Price, Utah, area and visits to miners and others who’ve been reading the socialist press. Building on their success, socialists in Price have announced a national *Militant* sales team to the mines and coalfield towns in southeastern Utah May 13–22.

Six people, four of them coal miners, signed up to subscribe to the socialist weekly during door-to-door campaigning May 1. One of the subscribers also purchased a copy of *NI* no. 12.

“The response was very good,” said Deborah Liatos, a union coal miner from Craig, Colorado, who joined the sales effort that weekend. “There are 10 mines around Price, many of them nonunion, and workers are discussing how they can fight for better

\$16,413 collected in week five toward \$90,000 Militant Fund

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Partisans of the *Militant* and its sister Spanish-language monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* made progress in the fifth week of the drive to raise \$90,000 to sustain the two publications. Last week, the *Militant* received \$16,413. This is about \$1,000 more than the total sent the previous four weeks of the campaign.

Militant supporters must now build on this success and step up the pace of collection of pledges along with finding additional contributors to meet or exceed every local quota. In the remaining three weeks of the drive, \$19,000 needs to be col-

lected each week to meet the international goal by the May 22 deadline.

Another indication of the momentum that began to build last week was that partisans of the socialist publications in three U.S. cities—Craig, Colorado; Omaha, Nebraska; and Los Angeles—were on schedule.

Militant readers in Boston and Miami report that they have begun to organize teams of volunteers to call subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in their area to appeal to them for contributions. In New York, partisans of the two socialist publications have sent a letter to readers on the fund and are following up with calls as well. This approach has been at the heart of the success in Los Angeles, where \$6,000 of the \$9,000 quota has been collected.

Juan, an over-the-road truck driver who picks up the *Militant* off and on when he stops in Des Moines, Iowa, contributed \$100, reported Joe Swanson. Juan was angered by all the overtime his boss has forced him to work and saw contributing to the *Militant* fund drive as a way to fight back, Swanson said.

Workers like Juan and other readers are the only ones the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* depend on to help pay rent, electricity, and printing and shipping expenses. Income from single copies and subscriptions falls short of covering such weekly or monthly expenses. This is what the \$90,000 fund is for.

All readers are encouraged to send in accounts of progress they are making each week in the fund drive that can be reported in this column. Checks or money orders should be made out to the *Militant*, earmarked “Spring Fund Drive,” and sent to the *Militant* at 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.



Militant/Dag Tirsén
Young socialists Andreas Bergerheim and Bjorn Tirsén participate in April 21 meeting at Stockholm University to build the August world youth festival in Venezuela.

conditions.” Many see the *Militant* as an aid in such struggles, she said.

“You know, we really do need a union because we’d have more rights,” said a miner at the Westridge Mine near Price, as he signed up to subscribe. The team had stopped by his house as he was getting ready to go to work. Workers at his mine have been working excessive overtime, he said. He had already worked 78 hours that week and still had one more shift to go.

“Another miner who subscribed was

recovering from an injury,” Liatos said. “With a boom in the demand for coal that is pushed by the high price of oil, the coal bosses are driving to produce as much as possible without regard for the safety of the miners.”

Two of the subscriptions were renewals. One was to a retired electrical worker who commented that he had gained a lot from the historical articles in the *Militant*.

“I really enjoyed the articles that analyzed Stalinism,” he told team members. “It helped me understand how in the early years of the Russian Revolution the Stalin regime disassembled the things that had been accomplished.”

On the same weekend, Patrick Brown, a supporter of the socialist newsweekly in Auckland, New Zealand, sent a note to the *Militant* reporting that 11 people there had subscribed to the paper during week four of the campaign, prompting campaigners in Auckland to up their quota to 30 subscriptions.

“We have been phoning readers to remind them to renew and tell them about the magazine,” said Brown, referring to the new issues of *New International*. “Partly as a result of this work, six readers decided to renew their subscriptions and several bought copies of *New International* and other Pathfinder books.”

\$90,000 Militant Fund 3/26–5/22: Week 5 of 8			
	Goal	Paid	%
AUSTRALIA	750	180	24%
CANADA	1,230	500	41%
FRANCE	300	100	33%
ICELAND	200	20	10%
NEW ZEALAND			
Auckland	1,750	1,002	57%
Christchurch	800	131	16%
SWEDEN	800	40	5%
UNITED KINGDOM	700	0	0%
UNITED STATES			
Craig, CO	1,800	1,250	69%
Los Angeles	9,000	6,100	68%
Omaha	355	233	66%
Detroit	2,500	1,510	60%
Houston	3,500	1,750	50%
Tampa	1,500	675	45%
New York	11,000	4,821	44%
Des Moines	1,100	425	39%
Price, UT	4,000	1,425	36%
NE Pennsylvania	1,500	525	35%
San Francisco	9,500	3,000	32%
Twin Cities	4,800	1,481	31%
Washington	3,000	920	31%
Newark	3,750	1,120	30%
Boston	3,300	930	28%
Atlanta	4,300	1,175	27%
Philadelphia	3,000	700	23%
Chicago	4,000	840	21%
Seattle	6,000	1,200	20%
Birmingham	1,300	175	13%
Pittsburgh	2,500	100	4%
Miami	1,400	50	4%
Cleveland	1,000	0	0%
Other	700	200	29%
Totals	91,335	32,578	36%
Should be	90,000	56,250	63%

'Militant' Subscription Drive April 2–May 22 Week 4 of 7			
Country	Goal	Sold	%
NEW ZEALAND			
Auckland*	30	27	90%
Christchurch	15	11	73%
N.Z. total	45	38	84%
SWEDEN	20	16	80%
UNITED KINGDOM			
London	40	29	73%
Edinburgh	20	13	65%
UK total	60	42	70%
AUSTRALIA	30	19	63%
CANADA	60	32	53%
UNITED STATES			
Craig, CO	20	18	90%
Los Angeles	100	77	77%
Omaha	25	19	76%
Washington	55	37	67%
San Francisco	25	16	64%
Boston	60	37	62%
NE Pennsylvania	40	24	60%
Newark	70	41	59%
Des Moines	50	29	58%
Seattle	35	19	54%
Tampa	30	16	53%
New York	115	60	52%
Twin Cities	70	36	51%
Atlanta	40	20	50%
Chicago	65	29	45%
Houston	50	21	42%
Price, UT	50	20	40%
Detroit	28	11	39%
Miami	65	25	38%
Birmingham	25	9	36%
Pittsburgh	50	15	30%
Cleveland	35	9	26%
Philadelphia	50	10	20%
U.S. total	1153	598	52%
ICELAND	17	6	35%
Int'l totals	1385	753	54%
Goal/Should be	1350	771	57%
*Raised goal			

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics
Celebrate the publication of the new French-language edition

Hear:
Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press and editor of the magazine *New International*

Natalie Stake-Doucet, Communist League Central Executive Committee

Michel Prairie, editor of the French-language translation of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* and director of the French-language publication program of Pathfinder

Marie-Claire David, Pathfinder Printing Project volunteer

Also speaking in Toronto: Steve St-Onge, builder of Quebec delegation to the August World Festival of Youth and Students in Venezuela

Montreal
Friday May 6, 7:30 p.m.
Centre St-Pierre, 1212 Panet, room 204
(metro Beaudry) Reception 6:45 p.m.

Toronto
Sunday, May 8, 1:00 p.m.
Steelworkers Hall, 25 Cecil Street
Fundraising luncheon for the Militant 12:00 p.m.

For more information call: (416) 535-9140



Country	Goal	Sold	%
UNITED KINGDOM			
Edinburgh	35	25	71%
London	120	85	71%
UK total	155	110	71%
NEW ZEALAND			
Auckland	50	37	74%
Christchurch	20	9	45%
N.Z. total	70	46	66%
SWEDEN	40	26	65%
AUSTRALIA	50	26	52%
UNITED STATES			
Omaha	32	27	84%
Cleveland	40	26	65%
Washington	90	57	63%
NE Pennsylvania	40	25	63%
Miami	70	43	61%
Seattle	90	53	59%
Los Angeles	200	114	57%
Atlanta	100	56	56%
Chicago	100	53	53%
New York	250	126	50%
Houston	100	50	50%
Detroit	60	30	50%
Craig, CO	40	19	48%
Pittsburgh	100	45	45%
Tampa	60	26	43%
Boston	120	51	43%
Philadelphia	75	31	41%
San Francisco	185	76	41%
Price, UT	65	25	38%
Newark	125	47	38%
Des Moines	80	26	33%
Twin Cities	105	33	31%
Birmingham	50	13	26%
Other		72	
U.S. total	2177	1124	52%
CANADA	120	59	49%
ICELAND	32	11	34%
Int'l totals	2644	1402	53%

Portugal, 1974: How fascist dictatorship fell

BY ARRIN HAWKINS

April 25 was the 31st anniversary of the fall of the fascist dictatorship of Marcello Caetano in Portugal. To mark this occasion, we reprint below major excerpts from an editorial published in the July-August 1974 issue of *International Socialist Review*, a predecessor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*.

In 1968, Caetano succeeded the 36-year-long dictatorship of Antonio Salazar. Caetano's regime was toppled six years later by a coup led by young military officers who organized themselves in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The MFA put in power a Junta of National Salvation headed by Gen. Antonio Spínola. These officers represented a layer of the bourgeoisie that was seeking to hang on to some form of domination of Portuguese colonies in Africa, through a "reformed" colonial policy.

The crisis of the regime was fueled by the victories of national liberation movements against the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé. Lisbon had termed its colonies "overseas provinces" and had adopted laws making Africans in these countries "Portuguese nationals." The toll of Portuguese troops grew in the late 1960s in losing battles to hang on to the colonies. By 1970, Lisbon's wars in Africa consumed as much as 40 percent of the country's budget. These events helped spread discontent at home, forcing weighty sections of the ruling class to decide they had to get rid of the dictatorship and continue capitalist rule through "democratic institutions."

Spínola—who had served as colonial governor of Guinea-Bissau and as the Army Chief of Staff—initially argued that the colonies were not "mature enough" for independence. Becoming president in the spring of 1974, he welcomed liberals and socialists into his cabinet. As young military officers began to move in a more radical direction that summer, under the pressure of mass popular protests, Spínola became isolated. He resigned from the government in September 1974, and fled into exile the next year after leading a failed military coup.

The overthrow of the dictatorship—often referred to as the "Carnation Revolution" because rebelling soldiers put carnations given them by protesters in the streets into the barrels of their guns—sparked a mass popular upsurge. Working people and youth formed mass organizations of a proletarian character similar to the workers' and peasants' councils, or soviets, that were instrumental in the victory of the Bolshe-

vik-led October 1917 Russian Revolution. War-weary rank-and-file soldiers formed their own committees in military barracks to press for democratic rights and for ending Lisbon's imperialist wars.

The revolutionary conduct and aspirations of the popular masses, however, were betrayed by the reformist Socialist Party and Stalinist Communist Party. These parties backed the MFA-organized governments in the name of "defeating fascism," even though the dictatorial regime had already been overthrown. The potential for a socialist revolution was thus squandered and the working class and its allies were dealt a blow in Portugal. The lessons from these events are drawn out in the editorial printed below.



The April 25 military coup in Portugal that toppled the Caetano government unleashed a mass ferment that is shaking the Iberian peninsula and has every potential for moving forward toward a socialist revolution in the period ahead. The initiative for this leap into the unknown was taken by the "liberalizing" military only with great misgivings and after much soul-searching when the existing situation had become intolerable for the principal section of the Portuguese bourgeoisie.

One thing the events of the last few months in Portugal have shown is the limitations and drawbacks of dictatorial rule from the standpoint of the dominant class itself. Under the pressure of accumulating problems, the most dynamic wing of the Portuguese bourgeoisie was forced to disable and throw into the gravest disarray not only the massive repressive apparatus that had maintained what was perhaps the oldest and most stable police state in the capitalist world but the whole machinery of coercion essential to any bourgeois society.

Soldiers influenced by mass movement

In the aftermath of the April 25 coup, the unity of the officer corps was gravely shaken and the effectiveness of the command structure profoundly undermined. The ranks of the armed forces were opened to influence from the mass movement that had been unleashed and groups of soldiers on the African battlefronts began to demand to be brought home immediately, a demand that threatened to spread like wildfire among the soldiers and their relatives throughout Portugal. It was indicative of the breakdown of the military hierarchy.

Uniformed soldiers and sailors began to march behind the red flags and revolutionary banners of the militant left groups,



High school students in Lisbon, Portugal, (above) take to the streets two days after April 25, 1974, coup that toppled Caetano dictatorship.

Angolan soldiers (right) fighting Portuguese colonial rule learn how to operate bazooka, September 1964. National liberation struggles undermined fascist regime in Lisbon.



scandalizing their bourgeois-minded officers. Demoralized by the imprisonment and public pillorying of some of the top watchdogs of the old regime, including their colleagues in the political police, the cops became notably inhibited. In

'Soldiers in the African colonies asked to be brought home, a demand that spread like wildfire inside Portugal.'

the weeks after the coup, Portugal, for all practical purposes, was the freest country in the world.

With the crushing weight of the repressive apparatus suddenly removed, the long suppressed aspirations of the Portuguese masses erupted to the surface. Almost immediately large sections of workers began to take action against the high rate of exploitation maintained by the police state. Public workers, denied all trade-union rights by the Salazarist regime, demanded the freedom to set up their own organizations and staged militant actions. High school and normal school students unleashed a powerful struggle against state exams and forced the junta to accept their demands. In some important high schools, the authority of the administration was broken at least temporarily.

All sorts of movements appeared: women's movements, gay liberation movements, ecology movements. A mood spread of challenging everything, of wanting to know about and discuss everything that was banned under the old regime. The working journalists of the mass media were encouraged by this atmosphere to revolt against the reactionary editors and publishers that had kept them from reporting the truth as they saw it. As a result the big daily papers were suddenly opened to all sorts of ideas that are still beyond the pale for the bourgeois press in other capitalist countries. The bias against reporting the activities and views of the left groups was largely swept away at the same time that the political spokesmen of the old bourgeois regime were profoundly discredited.

Everywhere the bourgeoisie was faced with militant stirrings among the masses and a radical ferment that threatened, even if it could be controlled for the moment, to lay the basis for a powerful challenge to some of the cornerstones of the capitalist system in Portugal. This threat was all the more acute because the bourgeoisie had to open the floodgates of politics before it had the time to construct any political instruments of its own or to develop and

disseminate a bourgeois ideology suited to the changed conditions. At the same time, both its economic and political margins for maneuver were thin. It could no longer afford the burden of the colonial war, but it could not afford to abandon the colonies either, at least the most economically important of them.

In order to avoid a general rout, the Portuguese bourgeoisie had to hang on in Africa at a time when it was obvious that the ranks of the army and the people were unwilling to sacrifice anything more for the "overseas provinces," and when it was too weak to resist a mass movement for immediate withdrawal should one develop.

Economic crisis adds to discontent

At the same time, in Portugal itself, a whole layer of unviable capitalist enterprises, kept alive by the economic nationalism of the Salazarist regime and by a low wage rate maintained by repression, were threatened with failure. The high rate of inflation that had fueled popular hatred of the old regime was continuing. Furthermore although the most dynamic sectors of Portuguese capital apparently thought that they could offer some more concessions to the workers—since this would be an inevitable result of dumping the old regime and taking a liberal turn—it seems certain that they regard it essential to maintain the low cost of labor that is one of the main attractions for foreign investment in the country, a major factor in any perspective of modernizing the economy.

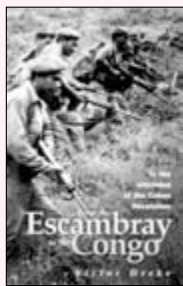
Thus, the overthrow of the Salazarist regime entailed great risks for the Portuguese bourgeoisie as a whole, risks that it had to confront unprepared. The two main questions, then, are why sectors of the bourgeoisie decided to accept these risks and what had enabled them so far to ride out the storm?

The answer to the first question seems fairly clear. While the solution General Spínola projected in his book *Portugal e o Futuro* for the problems of the Portuguese bourgeoisie was vague and utopian-sounding, he had the merit of explaining very frankly why the Salazarist regime and its crude repressive methods could not be maintained. The expense of the colonial war was producing a greater and greater lag in the development of the Portuguese economy at home. Not only did this threaten Portuguese national capital; it was preparing the way for an inevitable social explosion as a more and more hopelessly backward country exported greater and greater numbers of workers to the advanced capitalist centers in Europe, where they came into contact with a higher standard of living and learned about democratic, political, and trade-union rights. General Spínola expressed fear of the processes that

For further reading

From the Escambray to the Congo

In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution by Victor Dreke

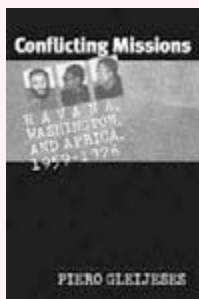


Dreke has been a leading participant in Cuba's revolutionary movement for half a century—as a high school activist, cadre of the July 26 Movement, internationalist combatant at the side of Ernesto Che Guevara in the Congo, and representative of the Cuban Revolution throughout Africa. \$17

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by Piero Gleijeses

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Lessons of Portugal

would start up in Portugal as this experience was transmitted back to the relatives of emigrant workers.

Pressure from Washington

It also seems likely —this was hinted at in Spínola’s book— that the U.S. was stepping up pressure on the Portuguese authorities to change their course in Africa. Washington probably feared that the mounting liberation struggle against a reactionary, repressive colonial administration would lead to a dynamic that would endanger the neocolonial system in Africa.

The only solution for the Portuguese bourgeoisie was to make concessions to the liberation movements and try to build up a neocolonialist layer in its African territories. To do this, it had to open up the way for a political process. It had to build up native political leaders and collaborationist parties. It needed a period of parliamentarianism and democratic demagoguery, and this process could not be limited to the colonies alone but obviously had to extend to Portugal too. This turn was impossible without throwing out the old police-state structures and the reactionary and fascist ideology of the Salazarist regime. The continuity of the political system had to be broken sharply in order to create illusions about new democratic political opportunities. In short, the old repressive system and the reactionary mystification on which it was based had become dangerously constrictive. The bourgeoisie had to break out of this straitjacket, no matter what the cost, so that it could maneuver to save its essential positions.

Reformist life preserver for bourgeoisie

The decisive question is the second. How have the representatives of the Portuguese bourgeoisie managed to stay afloat so far without a vessel of their own in the torrent they were forced to release? The answer is that they had a life preserver: the reformist workers’ parties. This means essentially the Communist Party. It is true that some Socialist Party leaders such as Mario Soares are important to the junta as “progressive” intermediaries in their negotiations with the liberation movements and the workers in Portugal. And if the Socialist Party tops succeed in their objective of building up a big Social Democratic party with the help of the reformist and liberal apparatuses in Northern Europe and the U. S., they may become a pillar of bourgeois rule in Portugal, and perhaps at a certain stage a “democratic” alternative to the CP.

Communist Party aids Spínola regime

But at present the Socialist Party lacks both the homogeneity and organized support necessary to be a firm prop of the regime. The only party capable of serving as the political support of the bourgeois military junta, of organizing mass support for it and defending its policy against the militant workers and students is the Communist Party. That was obvious in the most important political event in Portugal since the April 25 coup, the massive May Day march. It was the Communist Party cadres that kept this popular upsurge within the bounds of patriotism and support for the junta. And by this they handed Spínola and his collaborators a decisive political victory. The old fascist turned “progressive” was not long in beginning to exploit it. Speaking to rallies throughout the country modeled on the May Day demonstration, he has attacked the militant workers and students who are demanding their rights, calling them “provocateurs” and “counter-revolutionaries” and appealing for “patriotism” and “discipline.”

Parallel to this, the Communist Party has carried on a virtually identical campaign in the working-class organizations, lacking only the military trappings of General Spínola’s appearances (drum music, drill by heavily armed units, and so forth). The Communist Party’s policy is calculated to convince the bourgeoisie of its “responsibility” and “reliability” as a partner in government. In order to achieve its parliamentary and reformist objectives, it is determined to suppress any movement or activity that might “frighten” the bourgeoisie and make them fear that their liberal turn could get out of hand.

As for Spínola, his objectives have become crystal clear. At every stage, his campaign against “extremists” has been coordinated with moves to cut back political freedoms, reimpose political censorship, restore arbitrary authority in the armed forces, and in general to begin liquidating the political and social ferment that exists. His objective, in short is to restore the bourgeois grip on society. Once this is accomplished, he can afford to dispense with the support of the Communist Party, which can never be entirely reliable from his point of view—no matter how useful it proves in this moment of crisis—because of its subordination to the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

At present, the tie between the Communist Party and the Kremlin may even be an advantage for Spínola, since a combination of CP pressure on the workers’ movement in Portugal and Soviet pressure on the guerrillas in Africa could be the decisive factor in achieving his objectives.

Historic precedents

There are precedents for Spínola’s conduct. For example, following the fall of Nazism, the weak and discredited capitalist classes of France and Italy, among others, brought the Communist parties into their first postwar governments. They needed them to shore up their political authority. Like the Portuguese capitalists today, the French capitalists found the Communist Party useful in dealing with the crisis in their colonies. The Stalinists put their weight behind the new “progressive” colonialism that the French bourgeoisie felt it necessary to promise, the “French Union.” But after the Stalinists had fulfilled their role, and the capitalists succeeded in restabilizing the situation, the bourgeois parties broke the alliance and returned to ruling in their own name alone.

The Portuguese CP is, thus, playing the same role that its French and Italian sister parties played in the postwar crisis the role that the Social Democratic parties played in the World War I crisis, and the one that the Communist parties in general have played since the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Stalinization of the Third International.

In Portugal the bourgeois forces that backed the coup were completely without a mass political apparatus of their own. In the decisive moments of the mass upsurge following the violent ouster of the Salazarist government, they have had to rely almost exclusively on the Communist Party. In a situation where the army was split and its command structure undermined, the police demoralized and confused, and the decisive masses beginning to mobilize throughout the country to win aspirations the capitalists could not meet, the Communist Party has been the essential prop



Soldiers loyal to the Movement of the Armed Forces are greeted in Lisbon, Portugal, two days after April 25, 1974, overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. Rebellion in the army unleashed a mass upheaval, which was kept in check by Communist Party.

of capitalism in Portugal. Without its support the local capitalists would be unable to control the process they were forced to unleash.

The role of the Portuguese Communist Party is a betrayal of the historic interests of the proletariat. It comes on the heels of the experience in Chile where the CP provided the shock troops for the reformist Allende government in turning aside the revolutionary workers and entrapping them

into placing their trust in the counter-revolutionary bourgeois army of General Pinochet. If anything, the reactionary role of the CP in Portugal is even clearer. It does not even hold the presidency as Allende did in

Chile. It has joined an outright military regime as a junior partner and offers its services to help curb and housebreak the revolutionary impulse of the Portuguese working class. The Popular Front policy of the CP can lead only to another bloody disaster of the kind seen in Chile and whoever advocates such a line is an enemy of the Portuguese and African masses!

The behavior of the CP comes as no surprise. It is a hardened, reactionary bureaucratic sect on a world scale and its actions serve its own—and the Kremlin’s—needs, however much those needs stand in contradiction to the needs of the struggle for socialism. These are not people who simply fail to learn from their “mistakes.” This “mistake” has been repeated in country after country for 40 years, notwithstanding the terrible defeats it produced in the Spanish Civil War, in Greece, Indonesia, and Chile to name only a few examples.

Prospects for revolutionary leadership

The question is whether they will succeed in aborting the upsurge in Portugal as

they have so many other revolutionary opportunities. That is, what are the possibilities for a revolutionary leadership emerging that can lead the workers and the poor masses to take power in their own interest? That is the only thing that can break the vicious circle of betrayal....

In particular, the junta and its reformist allies are vulnerable on the question of the colonial war. While the fall of Salazarism aroused strong hopes in the masses and in the soldiers themselves for an immediate end to the war, the Lisbon government has to maintain its military positions in order to be able to negotiate the kind of “political solution” the Portuguese capitalists and their international allies want. At the moment, the government cannot assure discipline within the army. Restoring this discipline is, in fact, its No. 1 priority and the precondition for restoring “bourgeois order” itself.

Thus, the question of building a mass movement for immediate withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa and stopping Spínola from re-imposing a firm bourgeois grip on society are tightly linked. The strength of the movement for withdrawal may very well be decisive for the whole future of the revolutionary process in Portugal. And the spontaneous protests by soldiers and others against the continuation of the war indicate that all that is needed to start a mass movement for withdrawal is a small push and the kind of political line that can mobilize the masses.

A mass movement for immediate withdrawal of Portuguese troops from the colonies can block Spínola’s crackdown; it could also provide a focus at this stage for all those who do not want to subordinate their struggles to the needs of the “progressive” bourgeoisie and the class collaborationism of the CP. It could counterbalance the weight of the CP apparatus, drive a wedge between sincere militants and the Stalinist bureaucrats, and halt the construction of a mass Stalinist party. It could open the way for a socialist revolution in Portugal.

Utah miners press union-organizing fight

Continued from front page

small contributions of \$10 and \$25 each.

The Co-Op miners have been fighting to win representation by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) since September 2003. The miners say they will continue to organize informational picket lines near the Rail Co. coal loadout near Price that belongs to the same bosses who own the Co-Op Mine. Workers say a Co-Op boss has posed as a mine contractor hiring replacements for the union militants fired by C.W. Mining and is organizing mine safety classes at the loadout.

Over the last 19 months the Co-Op miners have been fired twice by C.W. Mining for fighting to win UMWA representation. On December 17, a union representation election was held at the bathhouse of the mine.

The ballots of 27 pro-UMWA miners, however, remain impounded by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)

in Denver to this day. These miners were fired by the company one week before the union vote, on the allegation that they lacked proper work documents. The miners point out that they worked for C.W. Mining for years with the same documentation, which only became an issue as the date neared for the union election.

The NLRB is still investigating charges filed by the UMWA on behalf of the miners demanding these firings be declared illegal, the votes of the miners counted, and the workers be reinstated to their jobs. Some 75 miners were fired by the company for the first time on Sept. 22, 2003, for protesting the dismissal of one of the union backers and demanding safe working conditions and decent wages.

Most of the 75 miners that were fired in 2003 remain in the area of Huntington. A majority have found jobs at other coal mines, while some work other jobs. Nine Co-Op miners remain unemployed; they receive a weekly stipend from the solidar-

ity contributions sent to the Co-Op Miners Fund in Price.

Two Co-Op miners will attend a conference organized by the National Immigration Law Center in Denver on May 6 that will include topics such as “Immigrants’ Protections Under Labor and Employment Laws” and “Key Issues for Immigrant Workers and Labor Unions in the Region.” Representatives of the Service Employees International Union, UNITE HERE, Communications Workers of America, and other unions and university and community organizations will participate. Bob Butero, the UMWA’s director of organizing in the West and based in Denver, will represent the miners union.

Letters of support and contributions for the Co-Op miners’ union organizing struggle can be sent to UMWA District 22, 525 East, 100 South, Price, UT 84501. For more information call (435) 637-2037.

How Bolsheviks championed women's liberation

Below is an excerpt from *Feminism and the Marxist Movement*, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month in May. The article was first published in the October 1972 *International Socialist Review*. It is based on a talk by Socialist Workers Party leader Mary-Alice Waters at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, in August of that year. The article focuses on two leaders of the communist movement: V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution in 1917, and Clara Zetkin, a prominent leader of the German Communist Party. Copyright © 1972 by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

Clara Zetkin's book, *Recollections of Lenin*, contains the fullest presentation of Lenin's views at this stage. Zetkin's account is based on two meetings with Lenin in Moscow in 1920. These were preliminary discussions, part of the process of drafting the resolution on work among women for the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921.

First, Lenin urged that the document

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

should stress "the unbreakable connection between woman's human and social position and the private ownership of the means of production." To change the age-old conditions that subjugate women within the family, communists should seek to link the women's movement with "the proletarian class struggle and the revolution." (Clara Zetkin's book is not available in English. Her report of these interviews with Lenin



Delegates to Second International Conference of Communist Women, held in Moscow June 9–15, 1921, prior to the Third Congress of the Communist International.

is included in the pamphlet *Lenin On the Emancipation of Women* [Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968].)

Lenin next took up the organizational questions I referred to earlier. "We derive our organizational ideas from our ideological conceptions," he told Zetkin. "We want no separate organizations of communist women! She who is a Communist belongs as a member to the Party, just as he who is a Communist. They have the same rights and duties."

"However," he continued, "we must not shut our eyes to the facts. The Party must have organs—working groups, commissions, committees, sections or whatever else they may be called—with the specific purpose of rousing the broad masses of women."

Zetkin commented that many party members had been denouncing her for making similar proposals on the basis that such ideas were a return to Social Democratic traditions, and that "since the Communist Parties gave equality to women they should, consequently, carry on work without differentiation among all the working people in general."

"How," Lenin asked Zetkin, "do such guardians of the 'purity of principles' cope with the historical necessities of our revolutionary policy? All their talk collapses in the face of the inexorable necessities."

"Why are there nowhere as many women

in the Party as men," he demanded, "not even in Soviet Russia? Why is the number of women in the trade unions so small?" In sharp terms he defended the need to put forward special demands for the benefit of all women, of working women and peasant women, and even women of the propertied classes who also suffer under bourgeois society.

Finally, Lenin was sharply critical of the national sections of the Comintern for not doing as much as they should. "They adopt a passive, wait-and-see attitude when it comes to creating a mass movement of working women under communist leadership." He attributed the weakness of women's work in the International to the persistence of male chauvinist ideas which led to an underestimation of the vital importance of building a mass women's movement. For this reason he thought the resolution for the Third World Congress of the Comintern was especially important. The fact that it was on the agenda would itself give an impetus to the work of the sections....

Zetkin proposed that the communist women from various countries should take the initiative in calling and organizing an international congress of women to help promote the tremendous new ferment and radicalization of women of all classes and sections of society in the post-World War I period. She suggested that they contact

"...the leaders of the organized female workers in each country; the proletarian political women's movement, bourgeois women's organizations of every trend and description, and finally the prominent female physicians, teachers, writers, etc., and to form national nonpartisan preparatory committees."

The conference, she proposed, should take up questions like the right of women to engage in trades and professions, problems of unemployment, equal pay, labor protection for women, social care for mothers, social measures to relieve housewives, and the status of women in marriage, family legislation, and legal rights. The proposal was based on similar conferences of nonparty working women being organized inside the Soviet Union at that time.

She outlined an international campaign to publicize and build such a conference, and also pointed out how it would be necessary for the communist women themselves to work together in a disciplined fashion in order to bring it off. "Needless to say all this requires as an essential condition that women Communists work in all the committees and at the congress itself as a firm, solid body and that they act together on a lucid and unshakable plan."

Lenin's reaction was one of wholehearted approval. But he questioned whether the Communist fraction at such a congress on an international scale would be strong enough to win the leadership of the delegates, whether the bourgeois and reformist women might not be stronger. Zetkin responded that she thought it was not a great danger because the communist women would have the best program and proposals for action. And even if they did lose, it would be no disaster. Lenin agreed. "Even defeat after a stubborn struggle would be a gain," he commented.

On further reflection, Lenin pointed out that this congress of women "would foment and increase unrest, uncertainty, contradictions and conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie and its reformist friends.... The congress would add to the division and thereby weaken the forces of the counterrevolution. Every weakening of the enemy is tantamount to a strengthening of our forces."

With Lenin's backing for the proposal, Zetkin set out to convince the sections of the International of its value, but due to the sectarian opposition of the German and Bulgarian parties, the two parties with the largest women's organizations, the whole project fell through.

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May

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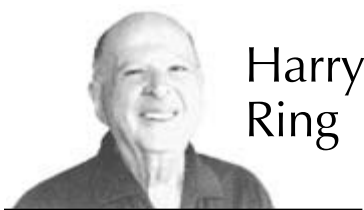
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8

The Militant May 16, 2005

He should, maybe, hang by heels?—Last fall, Barry Tatum, a Tennessee juvenile court judge, directed Felipa Berrera, a Mexican



Harry Ring

immigrant, to improve her English or lose custody of her daughter, 11. At a further hearing in April, she was not required to respond in English, but a brief, murky *Los Angeles Times* item indicated the case is headed for appeal.

P.S., some clarity—Perhaps mortified, the *L.A. Times* provided more facts. The judge had ordered two, not one, immigrant mothers to learn English, or else. In addition, Victoria Luna, mother of a child, 3, was also ordered to use birth control. The orders against the two mothers sparked “a furor,” and the judge retreated and granted child custody to Victoria Luna and put on hold the order against Felipa Berrera. A circuit court appeal is pending in her case.

A ‘rounded’ study—An Israeli prof was slated to speak on “Terrorism and Counterterrorism” at the Israeli studies department of the University of California, Los Angeles. A lengthy forum mail-

ing makes zero mention of the Palestinian people, subjected to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Meanwhile—A dispatch by the French press agency describes the illegal Israeli use of a West Bank quarry as a massive garbage dump, threatening the earth and water supply of a nearby Palestinian village. Agence France-Presse reports “a nauseating stench rises from the disused quarry.... With thousands of tons more Israeli waste set to arrive, the Palestinian village of Deir Sharaf fears the worst.”

A fight for justice—“U.S. Territory: Puerto Rico—More than 200 students sat in front of the entrance

to the University of Puerto Rico’s largest campus at Rio Piedras to protest in an indefinite strike after the administration raised tuition by 33 percent. Two other campuses are on an indefinite strike while other campuses have staged five-day strikes.”—*USA Today*.

Matter of ‘perception—In the Colorado town of Aurora, Blacks constitute 14.5 percent of the population. Last year, they represented 45 percent of those hit by cops using Taser stun guns. In 2003, a cop shot and killed an unarmed, kneeling Black hit initially by a Taser. Recently, his family filed suit. Last November, in a parking lot argument, a white killed one Black man and seriously wounded another. A

grand jury is looking at the case. Meanwhile, the acting police chief admitted to the *Denver Post* that the department has “an image problem.”

Swedish prisoners protest—More than 1,200 Swedish inmates have refused to turn out at their work stations. Prison officials withdrew body-building equipment, complaining prisoners are leaving bigger and “more dangerous.”

Thought for the week—“U.S. and worldwide economic growth peaked in 2004, the World Bank said in a report that predicted a gradual economic slowdown, while not ruling out a global recession.”—News item.

How Vietnamese used tunnels to fight U.S. invaders

BY ARRIN HAWKINS

CU CHI, Vietnam—Underneath the clay soil of this region of rubber plantations, north of what is today Ho Chi Minh City, lies a reminder of the ingenuity, determination, and deep popular character of the 30-year battle by the Vietnamese people for their liberation. A massive network of tunnels that at its height extended more than 150 miles made this region one of the deadliest for the American invaders and left a heroic testimony to the capacity of a people fighting for their own liberation to triumph against overwhelming odds.

In February, I along with Argiris Malapanis visited a section of these tunnels in Ben Duoc, in the Cu Chi region, that has been refurbished and opened to visitors. We were in Vietnam as a part of the U.S. delegation to the Second International Preparatory meeting held in Hanoi, the capital city, to plan the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students in Venezuela this August.

The region of Cu Chi is just 45 miles outside of Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon, the capital of the puppet government that Washington propped up in southern Vietnam. The landscape is still dotted with the rubber plantations previously owned by the French imperialists.

Despite the fact that it was just a short distance from their capital, the U.S. forces and those of the puppet regime in Saigon were never able to exert full military control over the region and it remained a “liberated zone” of the National Liberation Front (NLF) throughout the war.

This area was one of the most intensively fought battlegrounds of the war. Today a monument outside of the tunnels stands as a tribute to the thousands of Vietnamese fighters and civilians who were killed by the U.S. and South Vietnamese troops in Cu Chi. Thousands more NLF fighters fought in Cu Chi and lived in the underground tunnels.

Near one of the entrances to the tunnel we visited is a massive crater left by a bomb from a B-52 bomber dropped over 30 years ago, evidence of the systematic carpet bombing by the U.S. military in Cu Chi. In 1965, Gen. Curtis LeMay pledged to “bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age” and Washington deployed all its military might to do so, saturating the province of Cu Chi with 750- and 500-pound high explosive bombs.

The area of Cu Chi was the most bombed, shelled, gassed, and defoliated area during the war. The U.S. armed forces considered it to be a “free strike zone” where U.S. aircraft returning from bombing runs in the north would discharge all remaining bombs, napalm, and other chemical weapons, such as Agent Orange, before returning to base. Some 21 million gallons of Agent Orange were sprayed across southern Vietnam, destroying much of the forests and wetlands and poisoning the population.

Building the tunnels

Our tour guide’s parents had fought in the NLF. He comfortably maneuvered through the narrow passages taking us from one hall to the next. It is hard to imagine that this massive tunnel network, which at its height stretched over 150 miles from Saigon to the border of current day Cambodia, was built over decades by

hand with small shovels and baskets .

A picture of the effort involved is given in an interview with a Vietnamese tunnel soldier, Nguyen Thanh Linh, today a captain in the People’s Army of Vietnam, in the book *The Tunnels of Cu Chi* by Tom Mangold and John Penycate. Linh spent five years fighting in the tunnels and he described how they were dug by entire communities of peasants in the region.

“To dig the tunnels we divided the work scientifically,” said Linh. “Old men made baskets for carrying the earth, old women did the cooking, young men and women used their strength to dig the earth. Even children did their share by gathering leaves to cover the trapdoors. Our favorite digging tools were old worn-out spades and old hoes. A new hoe is about 15 by 25 centimeters, but after it has been used by the peasants to dig earth in the fields for a long time, it’s nicely reduced to the size of a bowl.”

The fighters were already well practiced in using the warren of tunnels in the region by the time the first U.S. “advisors” arrived in 1955. They had served as a base for the resistance fighters in their struggle against French imperialism in the 1940s and ‘50s.

On display at the Ben Duoc tunnel museum, near the portion of the tunnel complex we visited, are photos, replicas, and actual examples of the makeshift weapons that the Vietnamese people employed against Washington’s high-tech military machine. These “weapons of the poor” were often made in underground workshops. Coca-Cola cans became hand grenades, firearms captured by the enemy were repaired and used against them, ingenious mobile land mines were employed with deadly effectiveness, and dozens of simple but deadly booby traps made from bamboo and other materials made the efforts by U.S. soldiers to enter the tunnels and the surrounding countryside an extremely dangerous task.

We also saw the pictures and exhibits of daily life in the tunnels. Sewing machines and printing and drill presses were dismantled, transported underground, and set up in these bunkers to continue production. Kitchens and cafeterias were built, along with meeting halls, storage depots, and sleeping quarters. Theater performances and film showings were also held in the tunnels. Traveling tunnel performers, many of them revolutionaries that lived underground during the war, presented plays to entertain and boost the moral of the NLF forces.

A worker at the Ben Duoc tunnels showed us how the National Liberation Front fighters made sandals from blown out U.S. tank tires. Most of the electrical power to operate the machines was produced by hand or foot pedaled generators.

We walked through an underground bunker that served as a hospital ward throughout the war. The NLF also provided medical services to the villages and districts the liberation forces controlled.

“The Cuban people are highly conscious of the extraordinary role the people of Vietnam have played within the world revolutionary movement and the people’s fight for liberation,” said Cuban leader Fidel Castro during a 1973 visit to Vietnam. “Vietnam offers all of the exploited and



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Replica of Cu Chi tunnels in Vietnam used by National Liberation Front in 1960-1975 revolutionary war against U.S. imperialism, displayed at museum on tunnel site.

oppressed an unforgettable lesson. No liberation movement, no people who have had to fight for its independence, has carried out so massive and heroic a

fight as did the people of Vietnam.”

The tunnels of Cu Chi stand as a powerful reminder to the truth of that statement.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



May 16, 1980

The Carter administration has been forced to beat a retreat in its military pressure against Cuba, canceling a slated marine landing exercise at the Guantánamo Naval Base. But plans for scaled down naval maneuvers in the Caribbean between May 8 and 20 are going ahead, and Cuba is girding for new U.S. threats.

Washington backed off in face of the repercussions of its “rescue” fiasco in Iran. And it is increasingly tangled in the contradiction between declarations of support for those leaving Cuba [in the Mariel boatlift] and efforts to choke off the emigration.

In this situation, the slated landing at Guantánamo could only be seen by a world that is increasingly suspicious of Washington as the provocation it was.

So Washington had to retreat. Carter tried to pass this off as a humanitarian act by suggesting that navy ships slated for the Guantánamo operation were being diverted to help “escort” Cubans to safety in Miami.

But despite Carter’s tactical retreat, the Cuban people know that their solidarity with Nicaragua, Grenada, and the rising struggle in El Salvador makes Cuba a prime target of Washington’s drive to stem the spread of revolution in the region.

That’s why the Cubans intend to go ahead with their giant rally to protest Carter’s threats in Havana on May 17.

Meanwhile, in a further shift, Carter declared May 5 that the United States would “provide an open heart and open arms” to those coming from Cuba in the boat lift.

That’s trying to put a good face on an embarrassing situation.



May 16, 1955

“Atomic war isn’t really as bad as you think”—this is the hoax the Eisenhower Administration wants to put over on the American people with the May 5 A-bomb explosion at Yucca Flats, Nevada, proving grounds. The bomb was twice as powerful as the one that murdered 100,000 people at one clip in Hiroshima.

Immediately after the shock wave of the explosion at Yucca Flats had passed, tanks in battle formation pushed forward within 1,000 yards of Ground Zero.

“Most of the troops were youngsters with no combat experience,” reported Anthony Leviero in the May 6 N.Y. Times, “but...they handled the situation as if it were just another conventional exercise.”

The aim of the test is contained in this report. The Administration wants to condition the American people to accept A-bombs with twice the explosive force of the one dropped on Hiroshima as a conventional weapon suitable for use in combat.

The other half of the test was designed to show that it is possible to protect the civilian population from A-bomb explosions.

“Look,” the Administration said in effect, “buildings constructed of brick and shale are only slightly damaged though within 4,700 feet of the explosion. Auxiliary radio stations go into action right after the blast. Dogs come out of shelters wagging their tails, apparently unharmed. White mice run through maze tests with intelligence apparently unimpaired.”

Defend, extend Social Security!

The more than 25-year-long stagnation and decline of the U.S. rulers' profit rates is accelerating competition between imperialist powers and increasing the pressure to shift further to the bosses' favor the relationship between capital and labor. In seeking to boost their profit margins, more and more employers have been unable to count on anything other than pressing to drive down wages and benefits, lengthening hours, and intensifying labor. This stretch-out and speedup is the "secret" to the productivity growth that figures in ruling circles like Alan Greenspan brag about. They do so to reassure the capitalist class that something more is happening than a further expansion of massive government debt and its private counterpart in corporate paper, mortgages, and credit cards.

The progress thus far by individual employers in increasing the rate of exploitation through assaults on wages, hours, and job conditions, however, falls far short of what the capitalists must accomplish. The U.S. ruling capitalists need to slash payouts for Social Security pensions and other components of the social wage. They must shift more of the cost of education, public transportation, care of the young and old, and other government-funded services onto individuals and their families, making them more dependent on the church and charities.

Above all, the rulers must radically alter expectations bred over the last three decades by gains wrested from their hands during the 1960s and early 1970s that transformed Social Security into a modest but real inflation-protected pension to live on and medical coverage to fall back on.

This is what U.S. president George Bush is leading for the ruling class with his tours across the country and his latest televised news conference.

When Social Security pensions were first won by workers in the course of labor battles in the mid-1930s, the monthly payments were at best a small supplement to individual family support and church and county charity. Average life expectancy in the United States at that time was six years *below* the retirement eligibility age, set at 65. From the mid-1960s through the early 1970s, as a by-product of the mass proletarian struggle for Black rights, Social Security was significantly extended and strengthened. Benefits were indexed to inflation for the first time; Medicare was established for all those receiving Social Security; and Medicaid became available for those below a certain income level, and for many with physical disabilities, regardless of age.

Today life expectancy is 12 years—and rising—*above* the age at which most people become eligible for full Social Security benefits. The bosses are scrambling to devise ways to reappropriate more and more of even this small portion of the wealth

workers create through our labor. Contrary to the assurances of liberal and radical "reformers," the capitalists never intended that this portion of the wealth working people produce would be set aside for all time to provide a safety net for old age.

This is what the "crisis" of Social Security that Bush is trying to convince millions is knocking on everyone's door is all about. But this argument is not new. For more than 25 years, both Republican and Democratic party politicians have escalated demagogic cries that Social Security is "going broke," implying that blame falls on growing numbers of "greedy geezers" who save too little, retire too early, and live too long. As far back as 1983, Democratic and Republican politicians joined together to raise the Social Security eligibility age, currently heading to 67, and hike the payroll tax—the most regressive and anti-working-class of all taxes. In addition, despite the myth that these payroll tax funds are "put aside," are isolated from the flow of general tax revenues, they are in fact used by Washington every year to fight its wars and prop up the dollar, which includes subsidizing massively inflated bourgeois consumption.

The problem the wealthy rulers face is that over decades, as both jobs and increases in real cash earnings have become more insecure, millions have come to believe they need a retirement income and emergency medical protection that are *less* vulnerable to risk (such as investments in the stock market or U.S. Treasury bonds), not more.

Only in face of a social crisis, however, triggered by depression and war has finance capital in the United States been able to mobilize the kind of patriotic appeals for "national unity" and "equality of sacrifice" that can convince broad sections of the population, at least for a time, to accept sweeping cuts in their living standards. It will take such circumstances once again for the rulers to mobilize, on a national political plane, a campaign to roll back wages and conditions further and gut Social Security.

That's the problem the Bush administration faces. Despite its need to slash these entitlements, the capitalist class recoils from the kind of social and political fight they know they'll be picking if they attempt anything more than takeback "reforms" around the edges. Bush's proposals—voluntary private pension accounts and undermining the universal character of cost-of-living adjustments for retirement benefits—are such changes aimed at softening the beaches for a more frontal assault on Social Security. All working people should oppose them vigorously.

Labor should call instead for defending and extending Social Security to cover universal, federally funded, lifetime health care for all.

Denver event marks life of Corky Gonzales

BY BERNIE SENTER

DENVER—Two thousand people participated in an April 17 march and memorial rally here for Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. Gonzales, who died April 12 at the age of 76, was a leader of the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s. The Crusade for Justice, the Denver-based organization Gonzales founded and led, had a prominent role in the movement then.

The march started at the Escuela Tlatelolco, a bilingual school founded by the Crusade in 1970 and named to commemorate the hundreds of youth killed in the Plaza de Tlatelolco in Mexico City in 1968. The rally ended at Mestizo Park. Hundreds of youth turned out, many chanting "Viva La Raza" and "Chicano Power." Activists from Chicano student groups in the Denver area and from as far away as Albuquerque, New Mexico, participated.

Many participants in the Chicano movement in the 1960s and '70s attended. A number of Democratic Party politicians were also there—including Kenneth Salazar, U.S. senator from Colorado, Denver mayor John Hickenlooper, and Federico Peña, former Denver mayor and a Clinton administration cabinet member. Gonzales's children moderated the rally. Dolores Huerta, a leader of the United Farm Workers, spoke, as did Kenneth Padilla and Walter Gerash, two lawyers who defended the Crusade and many of its members during the 1970s.

Gonzales, a Democratic Party official from the late 1950s, founded the Crusade for Justice in 1966 and became a national figure during the rise of the Chicano movement.

The Chicano movement rose in the mid-1960s, inspired by the Black struggle that toppled Jim Crow segregation in the South, the rise of a mass antiwar movement inspired by the tenacious liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, and the wave of national struggles worldwide that culminated in the Cuban Revolution in 1959—the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. Rebellious against the systematic discrimination that Chicanos faced in education, employment, and on the land, the movement included a powerful wave of student strikes in which some 15,000 Chicano students walked out of the barrio schools in Los Angeles in 1968; the rise of a powerful social movement to organize the unorganized farm laborers in California and throughout the Southwest; the Land Grant movement in New Mexico, which fought to reclaim land that had been stolen from its Chicano/Mexicano owners; and mass protest actions against police brutality, the Vietnam War, and around other social questions.

The Crusade attracted many young Chicano militants eager to join these struggles. It helped build the National Chicano Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam on Aug. 29, 1970, in which 30,000 people marched in East Los Angeles in the largest antiwar action organized by an oppressed nationality in the United States. Hundreds of police assaulted the action, disbursed the crowd, and killed a television news reporter.

The Crusade hosted three national Chicano Youth Liberation Conferences in 1969, 1970, and 1971 that attracted thousands of Chicano youth from throughout the Southwest. The 1969 conference adopted a program called *El plan espiritual de Aztlán* (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán). Based on the mass mobilization of Chicanos, the program declared that political liberation would ultimately require "a nation autonomously free, culturally, socially, economically, and politically." The program called for the formation of an independent political party "since the two-party system is the same animal with two heads that feeds from the same trough."

At the highpoint of the Chicano movement many activists had come to see the need to break with the Democratic and Republican parties and extend the independent thrust of the movement to the electoral arena. La Raza Unida parties and similar formations were launched in Texas, Colorado, California, and Arizona. Coming out of the 1970 Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, the Crusade for Justice launched La Raza Unida Party in Colorado.

La Raza Unida was an advance in the struggle for Chicano self-determination. The party scored victories in local elections in Crystal City, Texas. It gave expression in the electoral arena of the gains registered through mass mobilizations and combativity of the Chicano people. The party declined and disappeared quickly, following the mid-1970s ebbing of the Chicano movement. Subsequently much of the leadership of the Chicano movement turned away from this course and many of its leaders returned to Democratic Party politics.

Articles in the *Los Angeles Times* and other papers on the death of Gonzales make no mention of the merciless campaign that the FBI and other police agencies conducted against the Chicano movement. Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice were targets of this campaign, in the course of which a number of leaders of the Crusade were entrapped by cops on various frame-up charges or killed by the Denver police.

Defense for victims of the cops' assaults was made more difficult when Crusade for Justice leaders failed to repudiate ultraleft rhetoric and actions from time to time, and when they declined to publicly renounce thuggish behavior on the part of a few Crusade for Justice activists.

One such default in leadership was Gonzales's failure to denounce the October 1976 unprovoked assault on Fred Halstead and Steve Chainey—members of the Socialist Workers Party—by a leader of the Crusade in Denver. Threats of violence directed at activists in the Chicano movement and others with whom the Crusade had disagreements, weakened the group's ability to put up united-front resistance to the FBI and cop assault, which was directed not only against Chicano groups but also the SWP and other organizations involved in the struggle against the Vietnam War, the fight for Black rights, and other social struggles.

Bush presses cuts on Social Security

Continued from front page

more and more working people have come to depend on as their main source of retirement income since the early 1970s.

Facing a deepening crisis of state finances, politicians in both ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are discussing further steps to roll back the social guarantees that workers have won. This crisis is propelled by the downturn in the capitalist economy worldwide and the ballooning costs of reorganizing and extending the power of the U.S. military. Since the start of the year, Bush has made 27 major speeches on the theme of cutting Social Security in 24 states. Opinion polls indicate, however, that the White House is far from getting popular support for its proposals. At the same time, Bush indicated he refuses to rule "by the polls." He made it clear he intends to push through legislation in Congress containing at least some of his proposals on Social Security "reform," especially since the Democratic "opposition" accepts his claim of a crisis but has presented no alternatives to his plan.

Currently Social Security benefits are determined by income up to a maximum adjusted annually. The payments increase based on standard adjustments for increases in inflation and a national average wage index. Bush suggested April 28 that benefits would increase at different rates based on income determinations.

The cost-of-living adjustments were first introduced in 1972, part of a series of social gains that were a product of the mass civil rights battles of the 1950s and '60s. These gains included Medicare, Medicaid, disability insurance, food stamps, and indexation of pensions to inflation. Only since then, Social Security became a pension that working people can, and increasingly do, retire on. Some two-thirds of the U.S. population over the age of 65 rely on government-guaranteed pensions as their main source of retirement income. For about half of those, Social Security accounts for more than 90 percent of their income.

The cost-of-living adjustments and other indexed increases in benefits have been a prime target of politicians in both parties that have advocated curtailing Social Security. Growing sections of the ruling class argue that when Social Security first became law the average life expectancy was a lot lower and that "too many old people" today present a problem for the wealthy classes necessitating major cuts in benefits.

"Social Security worked fine during the last century, but the math has changed," Bush said on April 28. "There's a lot of us getting ready to retire who will be living longer and receiving greater benefits than the previous generation. And to compound the problem, there are fewer people paying into the system."

The president also acknowledged that Washington uses Social Security funds for other government programs.

"Our system here is called pay-as-you-go," Bush said. "You pay into the system through your payroll taxes, and the government spends it. It spends the money on the current retirees and with the money left over, it funds other government programs. And all that's left behind is file cabinets full of IOUs."

Some \$1.7 trillion in funds from Social Security payroll taxes has already been used to cover military spending and other priorities set in Washington.

Bush also sought to deflect criticism in the April 28 press conference for the skyrocketing price of fuel. He promised that "there will be no price gouging at gas pumps in America." He also said Washington was looking to diversify its energy sources, including boosting nuclear energy production.

As the price of oil has increased, several companies that operate nuclear power plants in the United States have begun discussions on sites for new plants. This mirrors an international trend toward the renewed development of nuclear energy. In the United States this has been stalled since the meltdown at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania in 1979.

Coal has seen a more immediate boom in response to the growing price of oil. Energy companies have been putting in a record number of requests for permits to build coal-fired power plants. More than 100 such requests were made in 2004, more than were constructed in the preceding 12 years.

FOR FURTHER READING

**THE POLITICS
OF CHICANO LIBERATION**
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Socialist campaigns

Continued from front page

other cities have been taking their campaign to picket lines and other struggles by working people. On April 28, for example, Martín Koppel, who is running for New York City mayor on the Socialist Workers ticket, joined a picket line of striking workers at the Crowne Plaza Hotel near the La Guardia airport in Queens. The workers are fighting to win recognition of their union, UNITE-HERE. A year after winning a union representation election, the bosses have refused to negotiate a contract on the terms the workers demand.

“People were not being paid for work,” Francesca Barahona, one of the strikers who worked in housecleaning, told Koppel. “They would make us punch out and then work more to finish cleaning the rooms. We also have a very expensive medical plan. It costs some of us \$100 a week and most workers make about \$300 a week.”

Koppel responded that conditions these workers face are similar to those of millions of others. That’s why the SWP candidates champion support for workers struggles to organize unions and use and extend union power to defend themselves from the bosses’ assaults, he added.

Juan Mercedes, another striker who works in the hotel laundry, agreed. “I’ve heard a lot of other workers in this city—in the supermarkets and other places—saying, ‘Yes, we need a union too.’”

“Organizing unions and mobilizing union power is essential for defending the labor movement from the offensive by the employers and their twin parties of capitalism—the Democrats and Republicans,” Koppel continued. “Out of such struggles, it becomes more apparent that workers need to organize independently of the bosses on the political arena also; that is, to build a labor party based on the unions that fights in the interests of working people year-round.”

The Socialist Workers campaign starts with the world, Koppel pointed out. “We support the effort of countries that are oppressed by imperialism to develop the energy sources they need, including nuclear power, to expand access to electricity,” he said. “This is essential for economic and social development and to help bridge the gap between the imperialist and semicolonial world. We oppose the drive by Washington and its imperialist allies, in the name of ‘nuclear nonproliferation,’ to use their economic and military might



Militant/Paul Pederson

Martín Koppel (center, with glasses), SWP candidate for New York mayor, visits picket line April 28 at Crowne Plaza hotel in Queens, where workers are fighting for a union.

to block these efforts.”

For more information on how to join socialist petitioning efforts and other campaigning by SWP candidates, contact

Socialist Workers campaign supporters nearest you (see directory on page 8).

Paul Pederson contributed to this article.

‘Militant,’ SWP press for dismissing lawsuit

Continued from Page 4

submitted papers to the court claiming the dispute at the mine is not a “public controversy.” Because of that, they alleged, the two Salt Lake City dailies and the *Militant* are not entitled to the protection afforded journalists under Utah’s public interest reporting laws. Hansen and Kingston cite a case where the courts ruled that a single instance of animal rights abuse did not elevate the person involved into a public figure.

“As discussed more fully in the *Tribune/Morning News* Reply Memorandum, the labor dispute at the Co-Op Mine raises important issues of worker health and safety, and possible violations of federal labor laws and mine safety regulations, and have a significant impact on the surrounding community and the labor movement as a whole,” the *Militant* and SWP brief states. “The allegedly unfair labor practices span years, and have affected a significant number of mine workers and their families. These issues indisputably affect public health and safety, and have far greater social implications than a single incident of alleged animal cruelty.”

No valid defamation claims

In the amended complaint C.W. Mining attorneys filed last year, 24 of the 76 pages cite articles from the *Militant* that the mine owners and the IAUWU claim convey defamatory meaning. In their memorandum in opposition to the *Militant* and SWP’s motion to dismiss the case, these attorneys claim that Father Donald E. Hope of the Catholic Church in the Price area, Salt Lake City

Catholic diocese Bishop George Niederauer, and others, who expressed public opinions in support of the workers at the Co-Op mine, formed their views in this matter from articles and editorials in the *Militant*.

“Plaintiffs do not plead (and cannot establish) any actual link between the statements published in *The Militant* and the statements made by these unrelated individuals, however, and in the absence of such a link, their argument is nonsensical,” say Dryer and Petrogeorge in the latest brief.

This point is amplified in an accompanying footnote. “It is important to note that *The Militant*, a socialist weekly newspaper, has limited circulation and a relatively small number of subscribers,” the note says. “Many of the statements published in *The Militant* have also been published in large circulation daily publications like *The Tribune* and *Morning News*. There is absolutely no reason to believe Father Hope, Bishop Niederauer, or Mr. Logan, based any of their alleged statements on *The Militant*’s publications, and there is no allegation in the Amended Complaint to support this inference. Indeed, it is much more likely that these gentlemen formed their opinions based on their own personal contact and discussion with mine workers, or the accounts of the labor dispute set forth in major dailies.”

The *Militant* and SWP brief explains that many of the statements printed in the paper are either editorials or news analysis articles that are constitutionally protected as such.

Other articles submitted by volunteer correspondents are likewise subject to the protections afforded under the First Amendment—they must be read in the context in which they were written, and cannot be construed to be slanderous.

“Plaintiffs take particular issue with statements in *The Militant* reporting on claims by the mine workers themselves that the Co-Op Mine has, among other things, ‘locked’ the workers out of the mine, ‘harassed,’ ‘threatened,’ ‘intimidated’ or ‘abused’ the workers, tried to ‘disrupt’ meetings, and otherwise impeded the ability of the workers to seek true union representation, imposed ‘unfair’ and ‘unsafe’ working conditions, supplied workers with ‘defective’ equipment, ‘jack(ed) up its profits’ by abusing the workers, and tried to ‘stack’ the union election,” the latest legal brief by the *Militant* says.

“Readers of *The Militant*, no less than readers of *The Tribune* and *The Morning News*, would recognize these statements for what they are: polemics and other expressions of the opinions or strongly held views of the speaker. Such statements are constitutionally protected and cannot support Plaintiffs’ defamation claims.”

Selective editing of quotations

Dryer and Petrogeorge point out how C.W. Mining attorneys have used selective editing to try to prove their defamations claims in quoting an editorial in the Dec. 1, 2003, *Militant*.

The company attorneys told the court, “The *Militant* said, as a statement of fact, that one of CWM’s directors was convicted for savagely beating his daughter. This is a good example of the defamatory nature of

the *Militant*’s publications. CWM’s directors are Early Stoddard, Dorothy Sanders and Charles Reynolds, none of whom have been convicted of any crime, let alone the one *The Militant* accused them of.”

The editorial in question actually stated in part, “For example, one of the directors of the Co-Op Mine, John Kingston, was convicted for savagely beating his daughter who had fled a forced polygamous marriage to her uncle David Kingston, who spent four years in jail for sexual abuse of the 16-year old.”

“This illustrates the lengths to which Plaintiffs will go to distort the context of *The Militant*’s actual statements in order to avoid the motion to dismiss and continue their frivolous lawsuit,” Dryer and Petrogeorge explain to the court. “Contrary to the misleading and distorted picture painted by Plaintiffs, this editorial does not in any way identify Mr. Stoddard, Ms. Sanders or Mr. Reynolds (or any other named Plaintiffs.)”

The brief further points out that John Kingston is not a plaintiff in this lawsuit. It also explains that a *Salt Lake Tribune* article in 1999 reported that he was a director of the Co-Op Mine at the time he was convicted in state court for carrying out this attack on the young woman.

Dryer and Petrogeorge rebut the company’s claim that articles in the *Militant* referring to “bosses,” “managers,” and “officers of the IAUWU” are defamations of individual plaintiffs in this case.

“Contrary to Plaintiff’s assertion,” the brief says, “the statements made in *The Militant* about the Co-Op Mine ‘bosses’ and ‘managers’ and the ‘officers’ of the IAUWU refer only generally to the groups, and do not target or refer to any particular person. No reasonable reader, taking these statements in context, would reasonably attribute these statements to any of the individually named plaintiffs.” In the few instances where an individual company employee or officer of the union is mentioned in an article, the coverage involves the opinion or statements made by a worker and therefore is constitutionally protected reporting.

The memorandum also points out that the mine bosses have failed to make a case for their charge that the *Militant* conspired with others to hurt the company owners. C.W. Mining’s only arguments about a conspiracy revolve around defamation claims, and since those have no standing the conspiracy claims should also be thrown out, Dryer and Petrogeorge argue.

“Plaintiffs do not allege how any of the named defendants actually combined, what the object was they allegedly intended to accomplish, when the supposed meeting of the minds occurred (or who was even involved), or otherwise provide any of the factual details necessary to meet even the most liberal pleading requirements,” the brief says.

In addition to requesting that the case be thrown out with prejudice, attorneys for the *Militant* and SWP are asking the court to grant defendants attorneys fees.

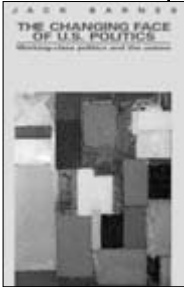
Presiding Judge Dee Benson has not yet scheduled a hearing on the motions to dismiss the lawsuit that all the defendants have filed.

FOR FURTHER READING

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

by Jack Barnes

Building the kind of party the working class needs to prepare for coming class battles—battles through which they will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. It is a handbook for workers, farmers, and youth repelled by the class inequalities, economic instability, racism, women’s oppression, cop violence, and wars endemic to capitalism, and who are determined to overturn that exploitative system and join in reconstructing the world on new, socialist foundations. Also available in Spanish, French, and Greek. \$23



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MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun: Experiences Learning to Organize and Use Union Power. Sat., May 14. Dinner 6:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. 4339 S. Central Ave. (323) 233-9372.

IOWA

Des Moines

Celebrate 30th Anniversary of Defeat of U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam. Fri. May 13. Speaker: Edwin Fruit, SWP candidate for city council at-large; member of UFCW Local 1149. Dinner 6:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. 3707 Douglas Ave. (515) 255-1707.

FLORIDA

Miami

There Is No Peace: 60 Years Since the End of WWII. Speaker: Paul Pederson, *Militant* staff writer. Sat., May 14. Dinner 6:00 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. Donation. 8365 NE 2nd Ave., #206. Tel: (305) 756-4436.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

60 Years since End of WW II; There Is No Peace: The Imperialist Slaughter and Stalinist Betrayal. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 3557 S. Archer Ave. (773) 890-1190.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

60 Years since End of WWII: Oppose Orgy of Imperialist War Propaganda. Fri., May 13. Dinner 7:00 p.m., program 8:00 p.m.; Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. 307 W. 36th St., 10th Fl. North. Tel: (212) 629-6649.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Behind the Anti-Tokyo Protests in China. Fri., May 13, 7:00 p.m. Donation: \$3. 7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu (upstairs). Tel: (09) 276 8885.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

Patrice Lumumba and the Role of Swedish Imperialism in the Congo. Speaker: Dag Tirsén, Communist League. Fri., May 13, 7:00 p.m. Bjulevägen 33, 121 44 ENSKEDE. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

UNITED KINGDOM

London

Defend Free Speech and Freedom of Press. Speaker: Joyce Fairchild. Fri., May 13. Dinner 6:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. 120 Bethnal Green Rd (entrance on Brick Lane) E2 6DG. Tel: (020) 7613- 2466.

United Airlines workers protest cuts in pay, benefits

BY BETSEY STONE

SAN FRANCISCO—United Airlines workers picketed outside the United maintenance base at the San Francisco airport on April 28 in a protest against moves by the company to tear up union contracts and default on paying pensions.

Since declaring Chapter 11 bankruptcy in 2002 the airline has imposed huge cuts in pay, benefits, and conditions of work. Mechanics and baggage handlers have taken pay cuts of 9.8 percent and 11.5 percent, respectively. These temporary changes in the contract will expire May 31.

A bankruptcy court hearing is set for May 11 in Chicago, where United will try to get court agreement to tear up union contracts and impose deeper more permanent cuts in pay and other concessions.

The company is also seeking court approval for its agreement with the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. (PBGC), a government agency that ensures some employee benefits, for the PBGC to take over its pension plans. In July 2004 United ceased paying money into the pension plans as required by union contract.

Pilots, flight attendants, and other workers at United have already given up over \$2.5 billion in concessions. Like many of the picketers, Mike Guerrieri, a mechanic with 17 years at the company, feels the current attacks are the final straw. “We have to stand up against this,” he said.

Mechanics who are members of Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) joined members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) on the picket line.

Baggage handlers and others represented

by the IAM will be voting on the latest company offer and taking a strike vote beginning May 3, with results expected May 10, one day before the bankruptcy court hearing starts.

In January members of AMFA voted by a margin of 57 percent to reject a tentative agreement negotiated with the company. They passed a measure to authorize a strike by 85 percent.

Ben Adams, a United employee and IAM member for 34 years, was one of a number of retirees on the line. “The money which they should be putting into pensions, is our money,” he said. “They have no business taking what is ours.”

“I hope more workers stand up together,” Arturo Candejas, who has put in 30 years at the maintenance base, told the *Militant*. “All the airline employees need to get together because if we don’t, they’ll just continue to nail us, one at a time.”



Militant/Betsy Stone

United Airlines workers picket April 28 outside UAL maintenance base in San Francisco to protest company attacks on pensions, wages.

U.S. Congress passes bill restricting right to choose

BY ARRIN HAWKINS

The U.S. Congress voted April 27 to pass the Child Interstate Abortion Notification Act, a further step in Washington’s nearly three-decade-long bipartisan effort to chip away at a woman’s right to choose. The law would make it a federal crime for anyone other than a parent to assist a woman under 18 in crossing state lines to have an abortion, and to avoid intrusive parental consent laws. Thirty-three states currently have laws requiring parental notification and/or consent for minors seeking abortions.

The new bill requires doctors to notify a young woman’s parents when seeking an abortion in another state. The bill would impose a hefty fine of \$100,000 and one year in jail for doctors and accompanying adults, including other family members, who violate the law. The bill also imposes a 24-hour waiting period on young women who seek an abortion in another state, purportedly to allow doctors to verify state abortion laws. Such waiting periods are required for all women seeking to terminate a pregnancy in 27 U.S. states.

A woman seeking an exemption from this law would have to sign a written statement saying that she was sexually abused by a parent, and provide a corroborating police report.

Other measures have been passed in recent years aimed at eroding a woman’s basic right to choose abortion. In December, the misnamed Abortion Non-Discrimination Act was signed into law, a measure that cuts off federal funds to states that enforce laws requiring clinics and hospitals to inform women about abortion and reproductive services. Last year, Congress passed the Unborn Victims of Violence Act, which for the first time gives legal status to the fetus in criminal cases. In 2003, Washington banned the late-term abortion procedure medically known as “intact dilation and extraction”—the first time an abortion procedure has been outlawed since the decriminalization of abortion in 1973.

In addition, a number of state governments have passed laws requiring mandatory waiting periods, placed bans on public funding to clinics that provide abortions, and prohibited insurance plans from covering abortion procedures.

As a result of this steady pressure, access to abortion in the United States has been in decline over the past 25 years. In 1982, the number of hospitals that provide abortions in the United States stood at 1,405. By 1996, that number had dropped to 703.

Today 86 percent of all counties in the United States have no health facilities or doctors that provide abortions. This figure rises to 95 percent in rural counties. In addition, one-fourth of all women who get abortions have to travel at least 50 miles to get one.

In approving the measure, 54 Democrats joined 216 Republicans. Democratic congressman William Clay of Missouri, who has claimed to be a supporter of abortion rights and voted against a similar law in the past, voted for the measure this time. He shrugged it off saying, “This bill simply says that a parent has a right to know if their child is having surgery.”

Clay’s flip-flop mirrors a trend in the Democratic Party toward stating more openly their long-practiced opposition to a woman’s right to choose. New York senator Hillary Clinton, for example, has taken the lead on this, stating in a speech given in New York January 24 that “abortion in many ways represents a sad, even tragic choice to many women” and steps should be taken instead to “reduce the number of unwanted pregnancies” and involve parents in “the critical role they can play in encouraging their children to abstain from sexual activity.”

Dockworkers in Finland wage three-day strike

BY DAG TIRSEN

AND ANDREAS BERGERHEIM

HELSINKI, Finland—Some 3,500 dockworkers closed down all the ports in Finland for three days April 15–17. The strike effectively stopped a big part of Finland’s foreign trade and temporarily shut down some paper mills.

The conflict was around two questions: part-time work, and payment for night shift. The contract does not allow the bosses to hire more than 10 percent part-time workers, but this was being blatantly violated by the bosses. One-fourth of the workforce at the biggest longshore company in Helsinki, Finnsteve, works part-time. The dock bosses also wanted to reduce the pay for night work, changing it from overtime pay to regular shift pay. In response, the Transport Workers Union (ATK) called for a strike on April 15 and decided on an immediate overtime ban.

The replacement of overtime pay with regular shift pay will reduce income for dockworkers by up to 10,000 euros per year, according to Patric Kollin and Lars Ammond, vice president and safety representative respectively of the ATK local at Finnsteve in Helsinki.

Dockworkers first struck the ports of Kotka and Fredrikshamn on April 12. “The national contract negotiations didn’t run like we wanted, so we wanted them to go faster,” Joha Antilla, union official at the dock in Kotka, said in a phone interview with *Militant* reporters.

In the Helsinki port, the dockworkers decided to walk out April 13, when the Finnsteve company began to do banned overtime work with salaried personnel. The following morning, the dockworkers in Helsinki and 11 other ports went on strike. This was meant to be a local one-day warning strike, but on April 15—the deadline the union had set for a strike—no one returned to work. Instead, workers at the few remaining ports joined the walkout.



Militant/Andreas Bergerheim

About 3,500 dockworkers, some of whom are seen above, struck April 15–17 in Helsinki, Finland, against an increase in part-time work, and for night-work pay.

The government’s labor ministry had called for a two-week postponement of the actions to April 29, but the union decided not to delay their action. Instead the union said they would stage a second strike action on the date proposed by the labor ministry if the contract was not signed.

Following the walkout, the union membership voted to accept the offer of the government arbitrator. The employers retreated on the question of part-time work, promising to respect the 10 percent limit on part-time workers.

The union accepted concessions on the overtime demand. Instead of doing night work as overtime, three shift schedules are now allowed after local agreements in each port. Workers won a wage increase of nearly 10 percent over the three years of the con-

tract. While some ports voted against, the majority voted to approve the agreement.

“It will mean that many part-timers will get full-time employment,” said Juha Atila, shop steward in the local at the port of Kotka. “The wage increase was also good.”

The Finnish daily *Hufvudstadsbladet* waged a campaign against the dockworkers, accusing the striking workers of affecting the transit traffic to Russia. One-third of Russian imports go through Finland. “During the last few years the dockworkers have been on strike one to two days every year,” stated one article.

Last fall the dockworkers walked out for two or three days in support of the bus drivers who were on strike for a contract. In 1991 they walked out in a contract fight that lasted four weeks.